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AUTHOR	Bates, Richard
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ABSTRACT

This paper takes the point of view that the mechanisms of demolition are those of economic rationalism: globalization, marketization, deregulation, competition, and privatization. The growing concern of government with economies, markets, and money carries over to education and other institutions. Currently in Australia, devolution is interpreted in terms of a centralized authority that determines the allocation of resources and policy formation; accountability or how to meet prescribed outcomes is the responsibility of local bodies. Devolution has placed education at the service of industrial production and markets, and facilitated the movement to transformative leadership (in which leaders are required to reshape corporate culture and carry workers along with the vision). The logic of the market corrodes traditional educational commitments, which are based on important cultural and social understandings, as well as the production of skills and useful knowledge. Economic rationalism increases competition among schools, undermines social solidarity among educators, increases collegial surveillance, intensifies teachers' work, raises the pressure for accountability, and makes principals act as managers of resources. It is important to abandon the sterile texts of scientific management, recognize the ideological and value-laden nature of leadership, and reconstitute an administration that is both democratic and truly educational. (Contains 40 references.) (LMI)

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A Socially Critical Perspective on Educational Leadership

Richard Bates
Faculty of Education
Deakin University
Vic 3220

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A Socially Critical Perspective on Educational Leadership.

> We must let Australians know truthfully, honestly, earnestly, just what sort of international hole Australia is in...if this government cannot get the adjustment, get manufacturing going again and keep moderate wages outcomes and a sensible economic policy then Australia is basically done for. We will just end up being a third rate economy....a banana republic.
>
> Paul Keating, 14 May 1986

On the 9th of December 1983 the Hawke government floated the Australian dollar. Between February 1985 and August 1986 the Australian dollar depreciated by 40%. Keating's 'banana republic' statement was made during an impromptu interview with John Laws conducted from a wall phone following a breakfast meeting with Neil O'Keefe. Breakfast plates and dishes rattled in the background as Keating sought for the colourful phrase that would give urgency to his concern for the consequences of the poor ($1.48 billion) April balance of payments figures. He found it. As Paul Kelly says

> The words hit the financial markets like a thunderclap. The dollar fell US3 cents. The message was stark: Keating had warned of a national crisis. In one interview he had transformed the climate of politics. Despite subsequent rationalisation, the 'banana republic' statement was testimony to the truth that politics is a traffic in symbols and that history is made as much by accident as by design.
>
> ...[Keating] didn't intend to deliver a dose of national shock therapy. ...At first he was thrown on the defensive. Hawke was stunned, then furious. The ALP was rocked and mainly dismayed. The community was confused....The declaration put Keating himself in a perilous position by its admission of economic crisis. But it had another effect - having declared a crisis Keating was imposing an onus upon himself to address the crisis. Henceforth his challenge was manifest: to deny the banana republic.
>
> (Kelly, 1992: 212-3)

The mechanism for this denial thrust Australian economics and politics into a new and uncertain era. The economic and social history of Australia since Federation was the history of the Australian settlement. Kelly outlines it thus:

> Australia was founded on: faith in government authority; belief in egalitarianism; a method of judicial determination in centralised wage fixation; protection of its industry and jobs; dependence on a great

> power, (first Britain, then America), for its security and its finance; and, above all, hostility to its geographical location, exhibited in fear of external domination and internal contamination from the peoples of the Asia/Pacific. Its bedrock ideology was protection; its solution, Fortress Australia, guaranteed as part of an impregnable empire spanning the globe. This framework - introspective, defensive, dependent- is undergoing irresistible demolition.
>
> (Kelly, 1992:2)

The mechanisms of demolition are those of economic rationalism: globalisation, marketisation, deregulation, competition and privatisation. Now my view of economic rationalism is that it is an extremely partial view of the world which has been inflated well beyond its capacity to deliver on its promises. Its basic tenets are deeply flawed and its assumption of the primacy of economic objectives deeply offensive and destructive (see Bates, 1994a, 1994b 1994c; Hutton, 1995; Lane 1991; Muller 1993; Ormerod, 1994; Pusey 1991; Rees et al 1993). Indeed, I share Nuggett Coombs view that as a result of the embrace of economic rationalism

> ...the intellectual and moral basis of Australian society is being corrupted...the driving force behind [economic rationalism is a] view of the economy independent of social purposes.
>
> (Coombs in Pusey 1993:2)

Nonetheless, economic rationalism and its companion, corporate managerialism seem to be the defining ideology and technology of our contemporary world and they are therefore, the starting points of this analysis of leadership.

It was Adam Smith who, contrary to the views of those who would claim him as an 'economic rationalist', saw both the potentially destructive effects of 'commercial society' and the need for a strong governmental presence in modifying the social and human ills that result from untrammeled commerce. Smith saw some of the most fundamental hazards arising from the very division of labour that was the basis of commercial society. Smith saw the fate of workers in an unrestrained commercial society as deplorable and in need of remedy.

> The man whose whole life is spent performing a few simple operations, of which the effects too are, perhaps, always the same, or very nearly the same, has no occasion to exert his understanding, or to exercise his invention in finding out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur. He naturally loses, therefore, the habit of such exertion,

> and generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become. The torpor of his mind renders him, not only incapable of relishing or bearing a part in any conversation, but of conceiving any generous, noble or tender sentiment, and consequently of forming any just judgement concerning many even of the ordinary duties of private life. Of the great and extensive interests of his country he is altogether incapable of judging...His dexterity at his own particular trade seems, in this manner, to be acquired at the expense of his intellectual, social and martial virtues. But in every improved and civilised society this is the state into which the labouring poor, that is, the great body of the people, must necessarily fall, unless government take some pains to prevent it.
>
> (Smith in Muller 1993:149)

Adam Smith, was, of course, Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow. His main concern in his life's master work The Theory of Moral Sentiments was to ensure the role of government in the construction of institutions which would not only increase the wealth of the nation but above all, strengthen the character of its citizens. Indeed his view of the importance of the market was that it was a mechanism by which the extremes of unearned wealth and the potential for social revolution that such extremes implied, could be mitigated. The market was to be an instrument of wealth creation and distribution that was relatively independent of inherited inequalities and one which would serve to improve the material and cultural condition of the poor. The end result was to be the production of certain virtues: the virtues of 'those who are contented to walk in the humble paths of private and peaceable life...temperance, decency, modesty and moderation, ...industry and frugality' (in Muller, 1993:165). For these virtues a man might expect to be both respected and loved and to bring about the happiness of others and himself. The integration of virtue and industry would produce an economy of happiness and love.

In a sense, contemporary commentators such as Pusey (1991) make a similar point.

> ...nation societies (and federations such as the emerging Europe) have not one coordinating structure but two. On the one side they have states, bureaucracies and the law, and, on the other, economies, markets and money. It is with these structures that we collectively coordinate our relations with the world, our work, our social interactions, and most other aspects of our life that we understand as 'civil society' and normatively define the notions of citizenship, democracy and human rights.
>
> (Pusey, 1993:5)

The difficulty we currently face is a profound lack of balance between these two steering mechanisms. The rhetoric of government is overwhelmingly concerned with economies, markets and money and with the efficiency and competitiveness of the engines of economic growth. Macro and micro reforms are directed toward the improvement of both public and private agencies all of which are defined as industries with particular production functions. The result, in education, as elsewhere, is the subordination of social to economic concerns.

There is an irony here, however, in that as Dwyer (1995) points out

> ...the very redefinition of education for economic purposes has come about as a result of the gap, or crisis, between economic goals and outcomes which gave economic rationalism its initial appeal. Education is now being conceptualised within an economic framework which owes its existence to problematic disjunctures between policy and practice.
>
> (Dwyer, 1995:96)

Nonetheless, the emerging conventional wisdom insisted that if the Banana Republic was to be avoided then all governmental policy had to be redirected towards greater economic efficiency.

As Kenway, Bigum and Fitzclarence (1995) have noted this redirection applies to education as well as to other government functions.

> ...at all levels of education, economic restructuring is [now] the master discourse which informs all policy decisions and corporate management is the master discourse which informs all administrative processes. Most observers also recognise that underlying policy are two central strategies which are deployed in order to ensure that education will cost the state less and serve the economy more. One strategy involves intensified government intervention in education. The other strategy, perhaps paradoxically, involves the privatisation and commercialisation of public education. These two strategies come together in the sense that the state produces the frameworks within which privatisation and commercialisation will happen, it promotes certain values to guide these processes, and it undertakes the ideological work necessary to ensure that they are publicly accepted.
>
> (Kenway, Bigum & Fitzclarence, 1995:3)

Historically, the discourse began to change in the eighties.

> ...with the onset of economic recession, human capital theory lost favour. Government expenditure on education was seen not only as a cost rather than an investment, but also as a cost that was inhibiting

> investment in the private sector and thus interfering with the free play of market forces. Over the next ten years, the emphasis on market forces increased and an inherently contradictory role for the state to *plan* for the expansion and global integration of the market through progressive *deregulation* of the economy was promoted.
>
> (Dwyer, 1995:97)

The contradiction of planning for the free market and the tensions that the simultaneous demands for control and deregulation produce have been noted by O'Connor (1973) and Habermas (1975).

Simultaneously with the shift of sentiment from regarding education as an investment to that of regarding it as a cost has been a shift in the controversy over centralisation and devolution. In the 1970's the argument was that the strongly centralised control of government bureaucracies was inherently unresponsive and undemocratic and that devolution of authority and control was a necessary response to greater social and cultural diversity and a key component in the construction of a participatory democracy. It was to a large extent this rhetoric which allowed the opposition to bureaucracy and government to develop. The impulse was towards greater democratisation and participation. However,

> ...as Lingard and Rizvi (1992) have observed, whereas the democratic ideals of the devolution of decision making in education inspired some key policy decisions in the 1970's, the kind of devolution being espoused now is very different. What is centralised is the authority to determine the allocation of resources and set specific outcomes of policy, while what is being devolved is the authority (or accountability) of institutional and local bodies for determining how they will fulfil the prescribed outcomes.
>
> (Dwyer, 1995:97)

This redefinition of devolution ensures that the management function of central agencies is paramount while local agencies and communities are restricted to

> ...the opportunity to implement policies determined at the centre, where educational issues are often secondary. Communities become an instrument of the central state, rather than empowered in a way celebrated in the social democratic construction of devolution.
>
> (Lingard & Rizvi, 1992:121)

As Dwyer points out

> What is advocated now is a carefully planned and managed national policy to produce a skilled workforce that has the necessary flexibility

> and adaptability to cope with, and advance, technological innovation. This tightening of national planning for education since the mid-1980s has turned once again to human capital theory but has redefined it in terms of the *deregulated* economy (Marginson, 1993). Hunter (1993) refers to this as the 'apparently paradoxical spectacle of a government intervening to curtail its own powers of intervention'.
>
> (Dwyer, 1995:97)

Indeed, what has happened is that the community orientation of the 1970s and the focus on democratic cultural and social development has been displaced by the restructuring of government by corporate interests. The key review committees in education (e.g. Myer, Finn, Scott, Deveson) as elsewhere, have been dominated by private sector managers (Collins, 1992) and as Kell has pointed out

> ...even though a Labor Government has maintained government for a period of over ten years, the private sector and more particularly corporate interests have achieved a dominant position in determining the parameters of the debate...
>
> (Kell, 1993:190)

In this they have been encouraged by government which, while it argues for decentralisation, marketisation and privatisation of the public sphere, simultaneously demands the construction of a national agenda in education - one which vocationalises education and places education at the service of industrial production and markets (Bates, 1994b).

In this, the rhetoric of what Gee and Lankshear call 'fast capitalism' is fundamental. In examining the texts written by business managers and gurus (Crosby, 1994; Cross et al, 1994; Deal and Jenkins, 1994;Drucker, 1993; Peters, 1992,1994; Senge,1991, among others) over the past decade Gee and Lankshear explore the links between such texts and the emerging rhetoric of some educational pundits.

> Fast capitalist texts are important...not just within the sphere of business and work. Their vision and values have deeply informed contemporary calls for reform both in adult education and training, as well as in schools across the 'developed' world. Such reform efforts (e.g. Australia's call for 'smart workers' in a 'clever country') stress the need to prepare children and adults to participate effectively as 'knowledge workers' in 'enchanted workplaces'. In turn, those areas that supply theories and practices to educational debates, such as educationally relevant cognitive science, are beginning to align themselves with fast-capitalist values (Gee, 1994). For instance both educationally driven

> cognitive science for classrooms, and the fast capitalist literature for workplaces stress collaboration, active problem solving, learning in context, alternative assessment, communities of practice and the integration of technology...Finally, the fast capitalist literature, with its stress on the destruction of hierarchy, borders, divisions and stasis, at times takes on some of the language of post-modern critical theories, theories that are otherwise quite critical of any form of capitalism (Gee, 1994).
>
> (Gee & Lankshear, 1995, 5)

There is a sort of millenialism about these accounts which is echoed in Beare's 1994 Currie Lecture where he reviews the fast capitalist literature of Naisbitt (1994), Ohmae, (1990), Osborne and Gebler (1993) and Reich (1991). The breathless prose underlines the triumphalism of this literature:

> New kinds of public institutions (schools) are emerging. They are lean, decentralised and innovative. They are flexible, adaptable, quick to learn new ways when conditions change. They use competition, customer choice, and other non-bureaucratic mechanisms to get things done as creatively and effectively as possible. And they are the future.
>
> (Osborne and Gaebler, 1993 in Beare, 1995: 11)

Beare himself is enthusiastic about such changes.

> Schools, themselves, are becoming free-standing institutions gaining increased legal and professional responsibilities: wide discretion over funding; the responsibility to select their own staff, as well as to fill their promotion positions from the Principal down; the management and upkeep of their physical plant. The architect of the school reforms in NSW public education, Dr Brian Scott, has said that governments everywhere have stepped in 'to re-position, to re-organise, to res-structure education' because 'political pragmatism and economic exigencies have demanded it'. The school, not the system, is the key element now, and the best judges of how a school is performing are 'the individual school's teachers and its community'. Schools ought to be able to manage themselves within general guidelines, and the Education Department should be seen as 'providing support to schools and their leaders'.
>
> (Beare, 1995:14)

The consequence, Beare suggests, is that

> ...Australian public schools will, more and more, resemble private schools in their governance and operation...[an inevitable consequence of

> the] combined impact of trends towards a denuding of the head office, towards self-managing schools, towards a shrinking of system-provided education services and back-up, and towards financial responsibility...
>
> (Beare, 1995:15-16)

Beare clearly accepts the rhetoric of fast capitalism that there is now the possibility of reconciling the 'progressive' economic features of capitalism with the 'needs' of workers. The mythology under construction here is seductive.

> The 'story' is, then, that the very structure and needs of a new and transformed capitalism (sometimes called 'post-capitalism' e.g. Drucker, 1993) is leading to a more meaningful, humane, and socially just, though more stressful, workplace
>
> (Gee and Lankshear, 1995:6)

The stress arises from increased competition within a global marketplace.

> The emphasis now is on the (active) knowledge (and flexible learning) it takes to design, market, perfect, and vary goods and services as 'symbols' of identity, not on the actual product itself as a material good. And, thanks to technological and social changes, this sort of 'quality' competition is now fully globalised. The 'winners' design 'customised' products and services 'on time', 'on demand' faster and more perfectly than their competition or they go out of business.
>
> (Gee & Lankshear, 1995:6)

Such competition is ruthless and only the lean, mean and fleet of foot survive. Corporations are restructuring, therefore, to eliminate large centralised hierarchies, breaking up the monolith into smaller work units and eliminating middle management so as to create localised, responsive units closer to the customer. One consequence is that middle management responsibilities are now loaded onto front line workers. Those previously at the bottom of the hierarchy and taking instructions become 'front line entrepreneurs'.

> Another big step, it turns out; the entrepreneurizing of every job. One hundred percent of employees turned into 'business people' is, I contend, no pipe dream. With a bit of imagination (ok more than a bit), the average job - actually every job- can become an entrepreneurial challenge.
>
> (Peters, 1994:72)

The rhetoric has become irresistible to some educators.

> ...the world of these fast capitalist texts has served, like a magnet, to attract and change the shape of educational debates in the 'developed' world, whether these be concerned with vocational and adult education, workplace training and literacy or schools. Just as it is not enough for workers in the new capitalism to simply follow directions, as it was in the old, it is not sufficient (it is argued) for students or workers-as-learners to just 'pass tests'. They must develop 'higher order thinking', 'real understanding', 'situated expertise', the ability to 'learn to learn' and to solve problems at the 'edge of their expertise'. These have become the leading motifs in the literature in educationally relevant cognitive science...
>
> (Gee & Lankshear, 1995:7)

But in the enchanted workplace, just as in the enchanted woods 'there be dragons'. The very encouragement of front line workers to question and create, to innovate and change poses potential threats to the corporation. Gee & Lankshear again:

> The first paradox we deal with is really the underside of 'enchantment' in the newly meaningful, equalitarian and 'empowering' workplace. 'Enchantment' means 'delightful' and, as such, stands for the claims that the new workplace will be more deeply meaningful and fulfilling than the old. But it can also mean' to be under a spell'. And indeed, our fast capitalist texts are aware of the tensions between workers who are in control and thinking for themselves, and the possibilities that they might question the very ends and goals of fast capitalist businesses themselves, which would make them very poor fast capitalists indeed. But, then, what sort of 'freedom' and empowerment' do workers have if they cannot question the 'vision', values, ends, and goals of the new work order itself?
>
> (Gee & Lankshear, 1995:8)

What is it all for? becomes an inevitable question and a core tension within the new capitalism as Robert Howard suggests:

> The contradictions inherent to this emerging ideology of management make it easily vulnerable to abuses of power and the elaborate manipulation of people and values....The promise of the enchanted workplace is promise of meaning, with the corporation as the mediator between work and the self. In order to cash in on the meanings of the enchanted workplace, however, the workers must cleave to a set of ends - 'superordinate goals', 'corporate culture', whatever- that 'like the basic postulates of a mathematical system', is posited in advance. Workers

> rarely have the opportunity to influence the content of those ends, let alone play an active role in their formation...As a result, the necessity of allegiance to a set of ends over which one has little control can become a recipe for a dangerous corporate intrusiveness that produces not autonomy and freedom, but enforced conformity, not genuine participation, but a kind of high touch coercion.
>
> (in Boyett & Conn, 1992:114-115)

Moreover, the 'enchantment' of the workplace may well be available only to a small minority of workers as corporations restructure to reduce their overall size and exposure to inflexibilities. As O'Connor points out

> In order to achieve maximum flexibility, companies will increasingly [sub-contract] a range of functions, and further reduce and segment their workforce by maintaining a core workforce which is multi-skilled, flexible, and can be used across operational functions, and a peripheral workforce which is more disposable, based on part time and temporary work, short term individual contracts and fewer employment rights and entitlements....[Indeed] the core remains the domain predominantly of men, providing more skills flexibility and development and diverse work, while the periphery is predominantly the domain of women workers, with fewer opportunities and further deskilling and control.
>
> ...[It is possible that this] core-periphery dualism merely extends and intensifies labour market segmentation by gender, race and age, [and that] we may simply be experiencing a switch in management strategies which rather than delivering democracy and greater opportunity in the workplace, further enhances and extends managerial control.
>
> (O'Connor, 1994:13-14)

Central to management strategies therefore, is the construction and communication of 'vision' which persuades and provokes 'commitment' to 'shared' organisational goals. 'Transformative' leaders are required who can reshape and focus corporate culture and carry workers along with the vision. Such language is now commonplace in the literature on educational administration. Skills of collaboration and effective communication underpin the symbolic work of leaders.

> ...both the fast capitalist literature and contemporary workplace education and training reforms put a high premium on collaboration and effective communication, as well as empowering workers and on their being self-directed (learners). However, these terms take on quite a different colouring depending on whether people are mutually collaborating on generating purposes, goals, visions, and ends, or simply

> cooperating to carry out a pre-given agenda within a system and vision they have had little say in forming, beyond yielding their allegiance as a 'committed' member of the team. Fast capitalist texts often talk about the necessity for 'vision' to form 'bottom up', but far more often engage in talk about charismatic leaders conveying their vision almost mystically to their employees who 'freely' (however irrationally) carry out their goals, ends and vision.
>
> (Gee & Lankshear, 1995:12)

It is surely not coincidental that the demand for such commitment and loyalty to corporate culture coincides with the replacement of long term employment by short term contracts for principals and teachers, no less than among other workers. Vulnerable employees may, of necessity, be more eager to display their loyalty and commitment to management visions.

The logic of the market is corrosive of traditional educational commitments which have as their basis vitally important cultural and social understandings, as well as the production of skills and useful knowledge, which allow people to play a full part in political life as citizens of a nation building state. The logic of the global market and its insistence on the competition of the market place as the overriding value - displacing communal and social values- is a fundamental challenge to conceptions of education which are socially and culturally, even morally, constituted. The assertion of market primacy is of course akin to the ultimate hypocrisy of Thatcher's comment that 'there is no such thing as society'.

As Kenway et. al. suggest such a view transforms the nature of education:

> Under the influence of market logic, knowledge at all levels of the system becomes redefined as property to be selected and promoted according to its exchange value rather than its use value in various market places. It becomes a thing to be owned rather than shared; competition rather than cooperation becomes the dominant ethic, which benefits the few rather than the many. Further, knowledge production and all associated rewards thus become individualised and again sectional, rather than universal interests are satisfied. The quality of education is placed in jeopardy under such circumstances because in the new educational market place, yield, output, quantity, turnover and ensuring the buyer a credential overshadow educational purposes. Or, to be more specific, educational purposes and the notion of quality are redefined in accordance with the market context. Education is seen less and less as a means towards self-expression and fulfilment or towards the development of cultural and social understanding and responsibility,

> and aesthetic, critical and creative sensibilities. Its purposes become frankly utilitarian and its quality is defined accordingly.
>
> (1995:37)

There is currently an attempt, therefore, to redefine the technology of administration in education, as elsewhere, according to the doctrines of 'fast capitalism'. Robertson summarises the subsequent role of schools

> ...schools are ...reconceptualized as unchartered marketplaces where a battle for the hearts, minds, stomachs and pockets of children takes place. It is a place where goods and services are traded, children's consumer attitudes are shaped, and the unequivocal rights of business to function in all spheres of life are consummated.
>
> (Robertson, 1995:10

In this respect Robertson echoes Jessop's comment concerning the objective of fast capitalism:' the subordination of social policy to the demands of labour market flexibility and structural competitiveness' (Jessop, 1993:9) and the complaints of Pusey and Coombs previously referred to.

Robertson's excellent analysis of the structural effects on schools is worth noting.

> A number of organising themes central to the transformation of schooling and the self-management of individuals are evident...These themes include the devolution of responsibility for management to the site level, the flexible use of labour within the local school, the intensification of labour legitimised by the ideology of a 'new professionalism', and the promotion of school-business 'partnerships'.
>
> (Robertson, 1995:12)

The devolution of responsibility has contradictory outcomes. On the one side it increases autonomy, though within more tightly fixed parameters. On the other side, it produces an intensification of conflict as managers and teachers attempt to implement policy in ways which minimise the 'riot level' of teachers and students.

> By locating power within the centre and minimising the functional lines of responsibility downwards, administrators and teachers are then given the task of implementing the new agenda and at the same time determining and managing the 'riot threshold' central to successful implementation. That is, the riot threshold refers to determining how much pressure can be placed upon teachers and students without losing

> control over the product. The separation of policy deliberations from implementation - ends and means- forces teachers into the paradoxical realm of technical uncertainty nested inside ideological certainty....In this sense, the realm of technical uncertainty provides the scope for teachers to generate innovative responses to achieve targeted ends. At the same time, the climate of uncertainty renders teachers potentially helpless and therefore exposes them to the certainties imposed from above and outside. Packaged formulas can seem like anchors in an uncertain environment.
>
> (Robertson, 1995:12)

One of these external certainties is created through the ideology of the marketplace within which schools are now expected to compete. Robertson, like Kenway et. al., sees this ideology as having profound and destructive effects on the internal as well as the external operations of the school.

> A further important role for smaller units operating at the local level is that it is only at this level that the market relations can operate effectively. In this context, self-managing schools can be encouraged to compete with each other for clients and funds. This competition occurs not only between schools, as they attempt to carve out a new niche within the schooling marketplace, but between subject departments within schools, as teachers attempt to stake a claim within the new enterprise....Far from being politically neutral, this conception of the self-managing school, in isolation from its neighbouring schools, is driven by the quest for money, power and status on which its survival depends. Not surprisingly, these social relationships which underpin 'fast schools' undermine any pockets of resistance or critical practice which might be seen to impede the capacity of the school to compete effectively.
>
> (Robertson, 1995:13)

A further mechanism for undermining the social solidarity of the school (and, perhaps its community too), is the attempt to introduce flexible staffing practices within the school which parallel those of the fast capitalist corporation. The formula is the same. Reduce permanent staffing to a small flexible core and casualise the remaining labour, hiring it where and when required. Robertson elaborates these parallels.

> The use of core, contract and contingency labour can provide a school, as a productive unit, with considerable flexibility in order to meet performance targets....The basic aim is to control labour costs, increase efficiency and more importantly, to discipline labour. There are three

> kinds of flexibility already apparent in the self-managing school. *Financial flexibility* occurs through cost cutting, or slimming down the size of the educational workforce. The redeployment of over 1000 teachers in the recent round of restructuring in Alberta, Canada, and a similar number in Victoria in Australia are cases in point. *Functional flexibility*, on the other hand refers to the more efficient use of permanent full-time employees through quality control, working smarter and continuous production....Finally, *numerical flexibility* involves the close tailoring of the size of the workforce to the use of part-time, contractual and temporary personnel. Within Australia a number of proposals have surfaced directed towards the development of a smaller but more highly paid 'core' of labour force teachers, supplemented by a tiered periphery made up of expendable semi-skilled and cheaper labour: parents, student teachers and teacher aides (cf. Schools Council, 1990; Ashenden, 1992; Robertson, 1994).
>
> (Robertson, 1995:13)

Within this changed context of labour relations in the school the 'new professionalism' redefines and intensifies teachers' work and establishes forms of collegial surveillance which are inescapable and form a process of self-managed accountability with regard to the intensified work.

> A further theme within the self-managing school arises as a result of the compression of time and space...Teachers are expected to confer on a raft of administrative detail as a result of the displacement of state responsibilities down to the local level. In a study of the impact of devolution on teachers in Western Australia, teachers reported that (i) they were required to constantly attend meetings for administrative or collegial purposes, (ii) accountability pressures had escalated, (iii) they were expected to be more entrepreneurial within the school and the local community, and (iv) the increasing scarcity of resources had led to greater conflict as a result of intense politicisation. All of these activities took considerable time. In order to meet their commitments, teachers worked longer hours of the day and more days of the week.... [Moreover the] contrived collegiality [that results] disguises a more sinister motive; a means whereby individuals are able to engage in surveillance of others as a form of self regulation leading to workplace control for increased productivity.
>
> (Robertson, 1995:14)

Similar reports emanate from studies in Victoria (Hill, 1995) and a national study by Logan, Sachs and Dempster (1994).

The impact on teachers is similar to the impact on principals. Szmal (1995) reports that

> Increased pressures on principals have also resulted from government policies: the mandatory reporting of suspected child abuse and neglect; programs dealing with gender equity; the 'learning assessment project' (LAP); LOTE; physical education and sport; gifted and talented children; children with disabilities and impairments; and site maintenance and improvement. To these can be added revised reporting requirements; pupil welfare and discipline procedures; development of long term workforce plans within a budget yet to be advised; staff selection (adhering to equity and merit principles) and appraisal;development of effective implementation , measurement and reporting systems for pupil progress; and the obligatory use of computer software, requiring extensive operator training. These are but a few of the initiatives of the past three years...The changes are so fundamental and so rapid that my attention is being diverted more into managing resources than to the core purpose of educating children.
>
> (Szmal, 1995:9)

No wonder then that principals find themselves working an average of 62 hours a week and that a quarter of them want to quit (Messina, 1995).

Leadership in the nineties is clearly fraught with tensions. Some of these tensions are structural and concerned with new relationships and increased demands within a stable or declining resource base. Some of the contradictions are ideological in that the idealisations of fast capitalism are being mediated into schools in ways which subvert traditional concerns; particularly those of a cultural, social, civic and aesthetic kind. Other contradictions are the result of the appropriation of language (devolution, self-management, local control etc.) through which many of us attempted in the seventies and eighties to articulate a socially democratic justification for the reorganisation of schools. The language may appear to be the same but the intention and the result of fast capitalist structures and ideologies are profoundly undemocratic and anti-social.

This situation provides a dramatic and contradictory situation for educational leaders. However, as Gerald Grace has argued it would be a mistake to see 'fast capitalism' as a historical inevitability.

> The outcome of these developments...is that contemporary school leadership is locked into a network of contradictory possibilities and shows both confidence and doubt about the future direction of schooling. This network consists of contradictions between the democratic potential of some reforms, for example: empowered school governors; greater accountability to parents; decentralised local management of schools;

> and, the centralist and controlling tendency of other reforms, e.g., national curriculum and assessment prescriptions, publication of hierarchical league tables of results, differential funding according to school status approved by government.
>
> Other major contradictions have arisen between the values and procedures enshrined in professional culture and those emergent in some forms of the new managerialism in education and the growing power of market culture and values in schooling. Both of these latter developments...have a potential to reconstitute hierarchy in new forms. The chief executive models of school leadership or the market entrepreneur models do not harmonise easily with democratic or collegial models of decision making.
>
> The critical questions for school leadership in the 1990s and beyond relate to how these contradictions may be resolved.
>
> (Grace, 1995:196)

Fast Capitalism may well appear to be sweeping all before it at the moment, but the contradictions and profoundly anti-social outcomes of its logic, combined with the unpredictable and possibly negative economic outcomes of its strategies may well provide space within which alternative socially critical and democratic interests can organise. Not all the best sellers are on the side of fast capitalism. Will Hutton's 'The State We're In' is also a best seller.

What does seem to be necessary, as I have argued on previous occasions (Bates, 1989) is the abandonment of the sterile texts of scientific management, the recognition of the ideological and value laden nature of leadership and the re-constitution of an administration which is both democratic and truly educational. While there are powerful forces arrayed against such a possibility in the current reforms there are also moments through which such a possibility might be captured. If they are to be captured they will speak both to difference and diversity as well as to the shared social future within which we hope to discover not only the principles but also the practice of social justice, equity and inclusiveness. An education system that rejects such principles dooms both itself and the society which it serves.

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